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ing this speculation to abler historians than myself. To their history, and notions with regard to their creation, I have given a place; and have also briefly related the traditions of the Lenape on the subject of their arrival at, and crossing the river Mississippi, their coming to the Atlantic coast, what occurred to them while in this country, and their retreat back again.

As the relation of the Delawares and Mohicans, concerning the policy adopted and pursued by the Six Nations towards them, may perhaps appear strange to many, and it may excite some astonishment, that a matter of such importance was not earlier set forth in the same light, I shall here, by way of introduction, and for the better understanding of the account which they give of this matter, examine into some facts, partly known to us already, and partly now told us in their relation; so that we may see how far these agree together, and know what we may rely upon.

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It is conceded on all sides that the Lenape and Iroquois carried on long and bloody wars with each other; but while the one party assert, that they completely conquered the other, and reduced them by force to the condition of women, this assertion is as strongly and pointedly denied by the other side; I have therefore thought that the real truth of this fact was well deserving of investigation.

The story told by the Mingoes to the white people, of their having conquered the Lenape and made women of them, was much too implicitly believed; for the whites always acted towards the Delawares under the impression that it was true, refused even to hear their own account of the matter, and "shut their ears" against them, when they attempted to inform them of the real fact. This denial of common justice, is one of the principal complaints of the Lenape against the English, and makes a part of the tradition or history which they preserve for posterity.

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This complaint indeed, bears hard upon us, and should, at least, operate as a solemn call to rectify the error, if such it is found to be; that we, in our history, may not record and transmit erroneous statements of those Aborigines, from whom we have received the country we now so happily inhabit. We are bound in honour to acquit ourselves of all charges of the kind which those people may have against us, who, in the beginning welcomed us to their shores, in hopes that "they and we would sit beside each other as brothers;" and it should not be said, that now, when they have surrendered their whole country to us, and retired to the wilds of a distant country, we turn our backs upon them with contempt.

We know that all Indians have the custom of transmitting to posterity, by a regular chain of tradition, the remarkable events which have taken place with them at any time, even often events of a trivial nature, of which I could mention a number. Ought we then, when such a source of information is at hand, to believe the story told by the Six Nations, of their having conquered the Lenape, (a powerful nation with a very large train of connexions and allies) and forcibly made them women? Ought we not, before we believe this, to look for a tradition of the circumstances of so important an event; for some account, at least, of the time, place, or places, where those battles were fought, which decided the fate of the Lenape, the Mohicans, and of a number of tribes connected with them? Are we to be left altogether ignorant of the numbers that were slain at the time, and the country in which this memorable event took place; whether on the St. Lawrence, on the Lakes, in the country of the conquerors, or of the conquered? All these I am inclined to call *first* considerations, while a *second* would be: How does this story accord with the situation the first Europeans found these people in on their arrival in this country? Were not those who are said to be

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a conquered people, thickly settled on the whole length of the sea coast, and far inland, in and from Virginia to and beyond the Province of Maine, and had they not yet, at that very time, a great National Council Fire burning on the banks of the Delaware? Does not the joint tradition of the Delawares, Mohicans and Nanticokes, inform us, that their great National Council House* then extended from the head of the tide on the (now) Hudson river, to the head of the tide on the Potomack? All this we shall find faithfully copied, or written down from their verbal tradition, and that this Council House "was pulled down by the white people!"† and of course was yet standing when they came into the country; which alone is sufficient to prove that the Lenape, at that time, were not a conquered people; and if they had been conquered since, we might expect to find the fact, with its particulars, somewhere on record.

It is admitted, however, by the Lenape themselves, that they and their allies were *made women* by the Iroquois. But how did this happen? Not surely by conquest, or the fate of battle. Strange as it may appear, it was not produced by the effects of superior force, but by successful intrigue. Here, if my informants were correct, and I trust they were, rests the great mystery, for the particulars of which, I refer the reader to the history of the Lenape and Mohicans themselves, as related in part by Loskiel in his "History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the North-American Indians," and in this work. In the first, he will find three material points ascertained, viz. 1st, "that the Delawares were too strong for the Iroquois, and could not be conquered by them by force of arms, but were subdued by

* A figurative expression, denoting the territory claimed by them, and occupied at the time.

† Alluding to the white people settling those countries.

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insidious means. 2d, that the making women of the Delawares was not an act of compulsion, but the result of their own free will and consent; and 3d, that the whites were already in the country at the time this ceremony took place, since they were to hold one end of the great Peace Belt in their hands.* In the following History, which I have taken from the relation of the most intelligent and creditable old Indians, both Delawares and Mohicans, not only the same facts will be found, but also a more minute account of this transaction; in which it will be shewn, that the Dutch not only were present at, but were parties to it, that it was in this manner that the Six Nations were relieved from the critical situation they were in, at that very time, with regard to their enemies, the Delawares, Mohicans, and their connexions, and that the white people present coaxed and persuaded them to cause the hatchet to be buried, declaring at the same time, that they "would fall on those who should dig it up again;" which was, on the part of the Hollanders, a declaration of war against the Delawares and their allies, if they, or any of them, should attempt again to act hostilely against the Six Nations. All this, according to the tradition of the Lenape, was transacted at a place, since called "Nordman's Kill," a few miles from the spot where afterwards Albany was built, and but a short time after the Dutch had arrived at New York Island, probably between the years 1609 and 1620.

The Rev. Mr. Pyrlæus, who had learned the Mohawk language of Conrad Weiser, and was stationed on the river of that name, for some time between the years 1742 and 1748, has noted down in a large manuscript book, that his friend there, the Mohawk chief, had told him, that at a place about four miles from Albany,

* Figurative expression. See Loskiel's History, Part I. c. 10.

A Treaty. See cat. 116, p 343. -Analyst

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now called Nordman's Kill, the first covenant had been made between the Six Nations and the white people; which is in confirmation of the correctness of the above tradition of the Mohicans.[a]

This was then, according to the best accounts we have, the time when this pretended "conquest," took place; and the Delawares, (as the Six Nations have since said) were by them *made women*. It was, however, a conquest of a singular nature, effected through duplicity and intrigue, at *a council fire*, not in *battle*. "And, (say the Delawares and Mohicans, in their tradition,) when the English took the country from the *Dutchemaan*, (Hollanders) they stepped into the same alliance with the Six Nations, which their predecessors had established with them."

Colden, in his "History of the Five Nations," informs us, page 34, that this took place in the year 1664; and in page 36, gives us full proof of this alliance, by the following account—He says: "The Five Nations being "now amply supplied by the English with fire-arms and "ammunition, gave full swing to their warlike genius, "and soon resolved to revenge the affronts they had at "any time received from the Indian nations that lived "at a greater distance from them. The nearest na- "tions, as they were attacked, commonly fled to those "that were further off, and the Five Nations pursued "them. This, together with the desire they had of con- "quering, or ambition of making all the nations around "them their tributaries, or to make them acknowledge "the Five Nations to be so far their masters, as to be "absolutely directed by them in all affairs of peace and "war with their neighbours, made them overrun great "part of North America. They carried their arms as "far south as Carolina; to the northward of New-Eng- "land; and as far west as the river Mississippi; over "a vast country, which extends twelve hundred miles "in length, from north to south, and about six hun-

[a] [Errata. Should read heape. -Analyst]

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"dred miles in breadth; where they entirely destroy-
"ed many nations, of whom there are now no accounts
"remaining among the English," &c.

To what a number of important questions would not the above statement give rise? But I will confine myself to a few, and enquire first, for what purpose the Five Nations were armed, and so "amply supplied with ammunition?" and secondly, what use did they make of those arms? The Delawares and Mohicans believed that the white people, first the Dutch and then the English, did all that was in their power to make the Mengwe a great people, so that they might rule over them and all other nations, and "that they had done what they wanted them to do," &c. For an answer to the second question, we have only to believe what Colden himself tells us, of what the same Mengwe or Iroquois did, after having received arms and ammunition from the English, which it clearly appears they could not have done before. Now, if we even were willing to admit that they had only gone off, "to revenge the affronts they had at any time received from the Indian Nations," yet, we would be willing to know, of what nature those affronts had been; otherwise we might conclude, that they were no other than that those nations had refused "to become tributary to them; "would not submit to their mandates, nor have them "for their masters;" and therefore had beaten them off, when they came into their country for the purpose of bringing them under subjection, and perhaps also paid them a visit in return, after they had murdered some of their people.

If we were permitted to omit the words, "revenge the affronts they had received from other nations," &c. we need not one moment be at a loss to know precisely what they went out for, as the historian himself tells us, that they, soon after receiving fire arms and ammunition, "gave full swing to their warlike genius, "and went off with a desire of conquering nations—of

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"making all those around them their tributaries, and compelling them all to acknowledge the Five Nations to be "their masters, and to be absolutely directed by them, "in all affairs of peace and war." We then know with certainty, what the object was for which they took the field.

We are here also told, of the vast tract of country over which the Six Nations had carried their arms, subduing, and even "so destroying many nations, that no account of them was now remaining with the English!"

In reply to this I might bring forward some sayings and assertions of the Delawares and Mohicans, which would not comport with the above story, nor apply to the great name the Six Nations have given themselves, which, as Colden tells us, is *Ongwe-honwe*, and signifies "men surpassing all others, superior to the rest of mankind:" but my object here is merely to discuss the fact, whether, previous to the white people's coming into the country, and while unsupplied with fire arms, hatchets, &c. those Iroquois had done such wonders among nations as they report; or, whether all this was done since that time, and in consequence of their being put into possession of those destructive weapons which they had not before; for how are we to judge, and decide on the comparative bravery of two different nations, without knowing whether or not the combatants were placed on an equal footing with regard to the weapons they used against each other?

I might ask the simple question, whether the Dutch, and afterwards the English, have favoured their "brethren," the Delawares, Mohicans, and other tribes connected with them, who lived between them and the Six Nations, and on the land which they wanted to have, in the same manner that they have favoured their enemies?

Colden, in his Introduction to the History of the Five Nations, page 3, says: "I have been told by old men

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"in New England, who remembered the time when the "Mohawks made war on *their* Indians," (meaning here the Mohicans, or River Indians, as they often were called,) "that as soon as a single Mohawk was discovered in the country, *their* Indians raised a cry, from "hill to hill, *a Mohawk! a Mohawk!* upon which they "all fled, like sheep before wolves, without attempting "to make the least resistance, whatever odds were on "their side," and that, "the poor New England Indians "immediately ran to the Christian houses, and the Mohawks often pursued them so closely, that they entered along with them, and knocked their brains out in "the presence of the people of the house," &c.

This is indeed a lamentable story! It might be asked, How could the white people, whom those very Mohicans had hospitably welcomed, and permitted to live with them on their land, suffer an enemy to come into the country to destroy their benefactors, without making any opposition? Why did these Indians suffer this? Why did they not with spirit meet this enemy?

The answer to this last question will be found in their traditional history of the great meeting at Nordman's Kill, where they were expressly told, after they had consented to bury the hatchet, wherewith they warred against the Six Nations, "That whatsoever nation, (meaning the Mohicans and Delawares) should dig up the hatchet again, on them would the white people fall and take revenge!"

Thus, then, arms were put into the hands of the Six Nations, and with them the Dutch, and afterwards the English, sided; but the Delawares and Mohicans were compelled to remain unarmed, for fear of being cut up by the white people, who had taken part with their enemies. May we not conclude, that these poor New England Indians were placed between two fires?

We do not, I believe, find that in the then middle colonies, the Mohawks, or any of the Five Nations, had

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ventured so far in their hostile conduct against the Delawares, as they had done to the Mohicans of New England, though the alliance between the Dutch and the Five Nations, and afterwards between the English and the latter, was much against both, and indeed more against the Delawares than the Mohicans: yet, by turning to treaties and councils, held with these nations between the years 1740 and 1760, in Pennsylvania, we find much insolent language, which the Iroquois were, I will say, permitted, but which, the people concerned say, they were "bid or hired to make against the Delawares, for the purpose of stopping their mouths, preventing them from stating their complaints and grievances, and asking redress from the colonial government."

The result of such high toned language, as that which was made use of to the Delawares, by the Six Nations, at a council held at the proprietors, in July, 1742, and at other times afterwards :* might easily have been foretold. For although now, these defenceless people had to submit to such gross insults, instead of seeing their grievances redressed, yet they were not ignorant of the manner in which they one day might take revenge, the door to the French, who were enemies to the English, being always open to them; they had but to go "on one side" (as they expressed themselves) to be out of the way of the Iroquois, and they could obtain from the possessors of Canada, and Louisiana, all that they wanted fire arms, hatchets, scalping knives, ammunition, &c. They did so, and withdrew to the Ohio country, whither they were followed by others from time to time, and by the time the French war broke out, they were in perfect readiness, and joining the enemies of Britain, they murdered great numbers of the defenceless inhabitants of Pennsylvania, laid the whole frontier waste, and spread terror and misery far and wide by the outrages they

* At a Treaty at Easton, in July and November 1756.

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committed; I have been myself a witness to those scenes, and to the distresses of hundreds of poor people, only in this one quarter.

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A work, entitled: "An Enquiry into the Causes of the "Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians "from the British Interest," written by Charles Thompson, Esq. and printed in London, in 1759, which some time since fell into my hands, well merits to be read with attention, on account of the correctness of the information that it contains.

By this time, the Delawares were sensible of the imposition which had been practised upon them. They saw that a plan had been organised for their destruction, and that not only their independence, but their very existence, was at stake; they therefore took measures to defend themselves, by abandoning the system of neutrality into which they had been insidiously drawn.

It was not without difficulty that I obtained from them these interesting details, for they felt ashamed of their own conduct; they were afraid of being charged with cowardice, or at least with want of forethought, in having acted as they did, and not having discovered their error until it was too late.

And yet, in my opinion, those fears were entirely groundless, and there appears nothing in their whole conduct disparaging to the courage and high sense of honour of that brave nation. Let us for a moment place ourselves in the situation of the Delawares, Mohicans, and the other tribes connected with them, at the time when the Europeans first landed on New-York Island. They were then in the height of their glory, pursuing their successes against the Iroquois, with whom they had long been at war. They were in possession of the whole country, from the sea coast to the Mississippi, from the River St. Lawrence to the frontier of Carolina, while the habitations of their enemies did not extend far beyond the great Lakes. In this situation, they are on

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a sudden checked in their career, by a phenomenon they had till then never beheld; immense canoes arriving at their shores, filled with people of a different colour, language, dress and manners, from themselves! In their astonishment they call out to one another: "Behold! the Gods are come to visit us!"* They at first considered these astonishing beings, as messengers of peace, sent from the abode of the Great Spirit, and therefore, employed their time in preparing and making sacrifices to that Great Being who had so highly honoured them. Lost in amazement, fond of the enjoyment of this new spectacle, and anxious to know the result, they were unmindful of those matters which hitherto had taken up their minds and had been the object of their pursuits; they thought of nothing else but the wonders which now struck their eyes, and their sharpest wits were constantly employed in endeavouring to divine this great mystery! Such is the manner, in which they relate that event, the strong impression of which is not yet obliterated from their minds.

It was the *Delawares* who first received and welcomed these new guests on New York Island; the Mohicans, who inhabited the whole of the North River above, on its eastern side, were sent for to participate in the joy which was felt on being honoured by such visitants. Their tradition of this event is clear and explicit. None of the enemy, say they, (meaning the Five Nations†) were present.

It may possibly be asked, how the Dutch could favour the Five Nations so much, when none of them were present at the meetings which took place on their arrival in America? how they came to abandon their first

* Loskiel's History Part I. ch. 10.

† The Iroquois were at that time a confederacy of only Five Nations; they became Six afterwards when they were joined by the Tuscaroras.

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friends, and take part against them with strangers? and how the Dutch became acquainted with those strangers? I shall simply, in answer, give the traditional accounts of the Mohicans in their own words: "The "Dutch Traders (say they) penetrating into our country, "high up the Mohicanichtuck, (the Hudson River) fell "in with some of the Mingo warriors, who told them "that they were warring against the very people, (the "Delawares and Mohicans) who had so kindly received "them; they easily foresaw, that they could not carry "on their trade with their old friends, while this was "the case; neither would the Mingoes suffer them to "trade with their enemies, unless they (the Dutch) as-"sisted them in bringing about a peace between them. "They also made these traders sensible, that they at "that time, were at war with a people of the same "colour with their's (meaning the French,) who had, by "means of a very large river which lay to the North, "come into the country; that they (the Mengwe) were "the greatest and most powerful of all the Indian na-"tions; that if the people they belonged to, were friends "to their enemies, and sided with them in their wars, "they would turn their whole force against them; but if, "on the other hand, the Dutch would join them in ef-"fecting a peace with them, so that their hatchet should "be buried forever, they would support and protect "them in all their undertakings;* that these traders be-"ing frightened, had returned home, and having stated "the matter to their chief (the Dutch Governor,) a ves-"sel soon after went high up the river to an appointed "place, where meeting with the Maqua (Five Nations,) "a conference was held, at which the Dutch promised "them, that they would use their best endeavours to

* Meaning, that the Five Nations would assist the white people in getting the country of their enemies, the Delawares &c. to themselves.

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"persuade their enemies to give up the hatchet to be "buried, which, some time afterwards, actually took "place."

These are (as they say) the circumstances which led to the league which was afterwards established between the white people and the Five Nations, which was the cause of much dissatisfaction, injustice, and bloodshed, and which would not have taken place, if the rights and privileges of the different nations and tribes had been respected, and each left to act for itself, especially in selling their lands to the Europeans.

Having seen how the Five, afterwards Six Nations, rose to power, we have next to state by what means they lost the ascendancy which they had thus acquired.

The withdrawing of the principal part of the Delawares, and the Shawanos, from the Atlantic coast, between the years 1740 and 1760, afforded them an opportunity of consulting with the western tribes, on the manner of taking revenge on the Iroquois for the many provocations, wrongs and insults they had received from them; when *ten* nations immediately entered into an alliance for that purpose, the French having promised to assist them.* In the year 1756, they agreed to move on in detached bodies, as though they meant to attack the English, with whom they and the French were then at war, and then turn suddenly on the Six Nations and make a bold stroke. Though, for various reasons, their designs could not at that time be carried into effect, yet they did not lose sight of the object, waiting only for a proper opportunity.

It would, however, have been next to impossible, under existing circumstances, and while the Six Nations were supported by such a powerful ally as the English, for the Delawares and their allies, to subdue, or even effectually to chastise them. These Nations, however,

* Loskiel, part I. ch. 10.

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at the commencement of a war between the English nation, and the Colonies, were become so far independent, that such of them as lived remote from the British stations or garrisons, or were not immediately under their eye, were at full liberty to side with whom they pleased; and though the Six Nations attempted to dictate to the Western Delawares, what side they should take, their spirited chief, Captain White Eyes, did not hesitate to reply, in the name of his nation: "that he "should do as he pleased; that he wore no petticoats, as "they falsely pretended; he was no woman, but a "man, and they should find him to act as such." That this brave chief was in earnest, was soon after verified, by a party of Delawares joining the American army.

In 1781, when almost all the Indian nations were in the British interest, except a part of the Delawares, among whom were the Christian Indians between 2 and 300 souls in number, the British Indian agent at Detroit applied to the great council of the Six Nations at Niagara, to remove those Christian Indians out of the country: the Iroquois upon this sent a war message to the Chippeways and Ottawas,* to this effect: "We here-"with make you a present of the Christian Indians, to "make soup of;†" which, in the war language of the Indians, is saying: "We deliver these people to you to be murdered!" These brave Indians sent the message immediately back again with the reply: "We have no cause for doing this!"

The same message being next sent to the Wyandots, they likewise disobeyed their orders, and did not make the least attempt to murder those innocent people. The Iroquois, therefore, were completely at a loss how to think and act, seeing that their orders were every where disregarded.

* Loskiel, Part III. ch. 9.

† The proper name is *Widwas*, the *W* is whistled.

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At the conclusion of the revolutionary war, they had the mortification to see, that the trade which they had hitherto carried on, and to them was so agreeable and profitable, that of selling to the English the land of other nations, to which they had no possible claim, was at once and forever put an end to by the liberal line of conduct which the American Government adopted with the Indian Nations, leaving each at liberty to sell its own lands, reserving, only to themselves the right of purchase, to the exclusion of foreigners of every description.

In addition to this, the bond of connexion which subsisted between these Six Nations, if it was not entirely broken, yet was much obstructed, by a separation which took place at the close of that war, when a part, and the most active body of them, retired into Canada. No nation then any more regarded their commands, nor even their advice, when it did not accord with their will and inclination; all which became evident during the whole time the Western Nations were at war with the United States, and until the peace made with them in 1795.

At last, being sensible of their humbled situation, and probably dreading the consequence of their former insolent conduct to the other Indian Nations, and principally the Delawares, whom they had so long and so much insulted, were they not to make some amends for all this contumely? They came forward, at the critical moment just previous to the Treaty concluded by General Wayne, and formally declared the Delaware nation to be no longer *Women*, but MEN.

I hope to be believed in the solemn assertion which I now make: That in all that I have written on the subject of the history and politics of the Indian nations, I have neither been influenced by partiality for the one, or undue prejudice against the other, but having had the best opportunities of obtaining from authentic sources, such information in matters of fact, as has enabled me to make up my mind on the subject, I have taken the

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until they could again have rallied their forces and fallen upon their enemy; they would have done long before the year 1755, what they did at last at that time, joined the French in their wars against the Iroquois and English, and would not have patiently waited more than a century before they took their revenge for so flagrant an outrage. Their numbers, acknowledged to have been far superior to that of their Indian enemies, and the vast extent of territory which they possessed, furnished them with ample means to have acted hostilely, if they had thought proper. On the contrary, they lived at peace with the Iroquois, and their European allies, until that decisive war, by which the French lost at once all their extensive possessions on the continent of America.

In addition to these positive proofs, negative evidence of the strongest kind may be adduced. The Iroquois say, indeed, that they conquered the Delawares and their allies, and compelled them to become women. But there is no tradition among them of the particulars of this important event. Neither Mr. Pyrlæus, nor Mr. Zeisberger, who both lived long among the Five Nations, and spoke and understood their language well, could obtain from them any details relative to this supposed conquest; they ought, certainly, to have been able to say how it was effected; whether by one decisive fight or by successive engagements; when, and at what place or places these engagements, or at least, the last battle took place; who were the nations or tribes engaged in it; who the chiefs or commanders; what numbers fell on each side; and a variety of other facts, by which the truth of their assertion might have been proved: the total absence of such details appears to me to militate against them in the strongest manner, and to corroborate the statement of their adversaries.

The Delawares are of opinion, that this scheme of the Five Nations, however deeply laid, and meant essentially to injure them, would not, however, have operated against

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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of their kin who had moved there directly from northern New York. They, therefore, united with the Hurons (Talamatans) to drive out the Talega (Tsalaki, Cherokees) from the upper Ohio. This they only succeeded in accomplishing finally in the historic period. But they did clear the road and reached the Delaware valley, though neither forgetting nor giving up their claims to their western territories.[30]

It is not my purpose to go into the authenticity of the Walam Olum or the accuracy of its migration account. Suffice it to say that the Walam Olum was probably a product of the Delawares during their phase of revivalistic nativism and that it seems "to be an account, by a despairing person unable to gain his customary satisfactions from a life that no longer existed, of a Golden Age which never was. . . . Indeed the Walam Olum plainly appears to be the mirror image of a nativistically oriented people, rather than an authentic account of their history."[31]

The Location and Divisions of the Early Historic Delawares

It is impossible, for the following reasons, to know precisely the name, location, and affiliations of all the peoples who at the end of the seventeenth century joined forces and became known as the Delawares. First, the Delawaran peoples were aboriginally and during most of the seventeenth century unorganized politically and composed of a large number of subdivisions. Second, three different European nations were in contact with Delawaran peoples during this century. Their names for various groups often differed, and their interest in the relationships and locations of the various divisions was often slight. Third, these natives were soon displaced geographically and much reduced in numbers. Lastly, an unknown number of non-Delawaran peoples were incorporated into the Delaware tribe at the end of the seventeenth century. I have not undertaken the prodigious task of locating the Delawaran peoples by investigating all of the primary sources, although such a study is sorely needed; instead, a synthesis of previous investigations and two seventeenth-century maps is presented. This discussion is, therefore, liable to inaccuracies of various kinds.

For convenience the Delawares at the opening of historic times may be described as being composed of three geographical groups, traditionally called the Munsi, Unami, and Unalachtigo. The people who were to become the core of the tribe composed the division which became known in the mid-eighteenth century as the Unami. According to Brinton, the term Unami means "people down the river."[33] Zeisberger used the term

[30] Brinton, 1885, pp. 185-88.

[31] Newcomb, 1955, p. 63.

[32] The following discussion and Map 1 are based on Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 89-93; Hrdlicka, 1902, pp. 33-37; Skinner, 1909, pp. 30-32; Bolton, 1920, pp. 226-86; Swanton, 1953, pp. 48-55; Van der Donck's map of New Netherland, 1656, opposite p. 294 in Jameson, 1909; and N. J. Visscher's Map of New Netherland, New England . . . about 1655, opposite p. 170 in Myers, 1913.

[33] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.

[text continues on p. 7]

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II. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF DELAWARE CULTURE

Introduction

The most recent reconstruction of early historic Delaware culture by Herman[1] failed to use the data made available by Kinietz[2] from the Trowbridge and Cass papers and minimized contemporary ethnographic data. Herman largely ignored modern ethnographic information because it "had combined material gained from different periods of time."[3] Kinietz used the previously unavailable Trowbridge and Cass data, but took little advantage of the other sources. His work also omitted a discussion of religion and some aspects of social organization. This study has utilized most of the source material of both of these investigators, as well as their results, and has in addition used other documentary materials. I have also used modern ethnographic data more extensively than have others. By using proper controls the ethnography of the Delawares can be made to cast valuable light on some of the less well-illuminated aspects of the early historic culture. The presence of a culture trait, whose existence could not be traced to white culture, to other Indian cultures, or to some sort of synthesis of these, was assumed to be of Delaware origin. It should be noted that some traits found in the field were considered Delaware on the basis of their absence among other groups; documentary materials later confirmed a Delaware provenance for many of these traits. Evidence from the field indicated, for example, that the Delawares possessed the trait of making a hole at the head of a coffin through which the soul could find its exit. Exit and reentrance were eased by the application of red ocher to this aperture. No evidence could be found which would indicate that this trait had been borrowed from other Indian cultures, nor was it derived from white culture, except that wooden coffins were used in place of bark receptacles. Later research substantiated the conclusion that this trait was of Delaware origin. In brief, by using a cautious and judicious approach it is possible to project ethnographic data back to early historic times with a fair degree of probability. Wherever this approach has been utilized, it is so noted in the text. I have also made a more serious effort to reconstruct the kinship terminology and general kinship structure of the early historic Delawares than has been attempted previously. This reconstruction is based mainly upon the recent suggestions of Murdock.[4]

The authorities for the data are given in chronological order, the seventeenth-century sources are given first, then the eighteenth-century, and so on down to the data recorded by myself in the field. When data secured from informants is used, the initials of the informant appear in the text or in a footnote with other references.[5] A discussion of the documentary sources is given in the Appendix.

[1] Herman, 1950, pp. 45-77.
[2] Kinietz, 1946.
[3] Herman, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
[4] Murdock, 1949, pp. 184-250, 323-52.
[5] Initials of informants are: O. A., Ollie Beaver Anderson; M. B., Mary Bob; N. D., Lenora Dean; J. T., Jim Thompson; F. W., Fred Washington; R. W., Reuben Wilson; L. F., Lillian Frenchman.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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III. DELAWARE SOCIOLOGY

As is true of all people on a comparable technological level, Delaware social organization was based upon ties of kinship. Or to put it another way, the organization by which the technology was operated and the ways in which individuals behaved toward one another were regulated and determined by ties of relationship. But "the records of departed civilizations, archeological and documentary, are relatively rich in evidences as to technology, economics, religion, and government but poor in information as to rules of descent, kinship terminology, and other aspects of social organization."[1] This general condition is true of early Delaware culture, but if reliance is placed upon Murdock's suggestions, it is possible to move from the documentarily known to the deductive probable and to reconstruct with some success the early kinship structure.

Life Cycle

Pregnancy and Birth

Marital abstinence was practiced during pregnancy.[2] Heckewelder stated that husbands were solicitous of the whims of their wives during pregnancy, citing a case in which a man traveled at least forty miles to obtain cranberries with which "to satisfy his wife's longings."[3] During pregnancy meat was not touched with the hands, but was eaten with a stick.[4] One of my informants (J.T.) said that bird and animal livers could not be eaten during pregnancy. This may well be a vestige of the early taboo on meat. According to Harrington's Munsi informants:

> The husband of an expectant mother was often accompanied on his hunting trips by the spirit of the unborn child, whose romping and playing about the bushes, invisible to mortal eye, would nevertheless frighten away the deer and send the hunter home empty-handed. To prevent this a little bow and arrow were made and attached to the prospective father's garments, in the hope that the little spirit would play with them and stay quietly with his parent. Should this precaution fail, the child was thought to be a girl, and a little corn mortar and pestle were substituted. . . .[5]

Birth, which was reported to be easy,[6] seems to have taken place away from the village, either in a menstrual hut or simply out of doors. Mary Jemison (a white captive of the eighteenth century, married at one time

[1] Murdock, 1949, p. 323.
[2] Thomas, 1912, p. 335; Penn, 1912, p. 232; Holm, 1834, p. 126.
[3] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 159.
[4] Holm, 1834, p. 128.
[5] Harrington, 1913, p. 212.
[6] Holm, 1834, p. 126.

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not uncommon: "Mr. Conner knows of many instances of it having been committed, sometimes by shooting, but generally by eating the root of the may apple. It proceeds most frequently from excess of gref (sic) or from disappointment in love."[117] There are indications, then, of a pattern of sex-oriented suicide in Delaware culture at least as early as the eighteenth century.

Kin Groups

There is no way of knowing exactly how much Delaware kinship structure and terminology changed in the two and a half centuries following European invasion. That it did change during this period is virtually certain, since factors which induce change were present, such as altered rules of residence, decreased polygyny, and increased economic and political importance of men. The literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gives no description of the kinship structure. L. H. Morgan was the first investigator to furnish information on the subject, obtaining his data in 1859 on the Kansas reservation of the Delawares. Even at this time Morgan termed the system "deteriorated."[118] I shall first describe the system found by Morgan, then compare it with the modern one, and finally turn to a reconstruction of the early historic system. Kinship terms given by Zeisberger and other earlier authors are too scant to yield any information; these nuclear terms agree with Morgan's lists.

Nineteenth-Century Kinship Terms and Principles

The kinship system of both the Munsi and Unami has been called the "Mackenzie Basin" type by Spier, and would be termed Hawaiian by Murdock.[119] According to Morgan, the essential features of the Delaware (Unami) system (Fig. 1, p. 45; Fig. 2, p. 46) were:

1. A brother's son and daughter, whether Ego was male or female, were termed son and daughter.
2. A sister's son and daughter, Ego a male, were nephew and niece. Ego a female, they were son and daughter.
3. Parallel and cross-cousins were termed stepbrother and stepsister, "the males and females using different terms."[120]
4. A father's brother was termed little father.
5. A mother's brother was termed uncle.
6. Mother's sister, father's sister, and father's brother's wife were termed little mother.
7. All grandparents and all kin of the second ascending generation were called grandmother or grandfather.

[117] Trowbridge MS.
[118] Morgan, 1871, p. 221.
[119] Spier, 1925, p. 76; Murdock, 1949, pp. 223, 228.
[120] Morgan, 1871, pp. 221-22.

2;Newcomb E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1956
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8. All grandchildren and kin of the second descending generation, irrespective of sex, were called by one term, grandchild.
9. If Ego was male, the children of male cousins were son and daughter, whereas children of female cousins were nephew and niece. If Ego was female, the children of siblings and cousins, irrespective of sex, were son and daughter.

Modern Kinship Terms

My data agree in the main with Morgan's, although there are some curious differences. (For comparative purposes the modern kinship terms are discussed here rather than under Acculturation.) The changes may be due to Munsi influence, since the modern system is like that of the Munsi, although the Unami dialect is employed. The changes may also be regarded as a further deterioration, particularly as the kinship society is no longer functional.

In terminology the major alteration has been in the classification of cousins. All cousins are now put in the sibling category, being termed older brother, older sister, or younger sibling. (Fig. 3, p. 47.) The children of those individuals whom Ego terms sibling are son and daughter, with the exception that male Ego calls a sister's son nephew. Male Ego does not call sister's daughter niece, as was true in Morgan's time, but calls her daughter. When cousins became brothers and sisters, it was only logical to extend the son and daughter term to their offspring. It might be noted that women in Morgan's time used the son and daughter terminology for all offspring of cousins. All of my informants were vague about the proper term for father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband. It was given as "my little stepfather," but also as "my little father."

A Reconstruction of the Early Historic Kinship Terminology

Despite the lack of any early historic description of the Delaware kinship terminology, an attempt to reconstruct it is profitable. There is fairly extensive information concerning the other facts of social existence in early historic times, and, given these facts, only certain conditions were possible for the kinship structure. The kinds of forces that affected Delaware society between the time of first contact and 1859 are also known, as are the results that these forces generally have upon kinship systems. Moreover, Morgan's description of the kinship system in 1859 provides a point of departure.

There are strong indications that most if not all of the seventeenth-century peoples who were to become the Delaware tribe reckoned descent in the maternal line and practiced matrilocal residence.[131] It has been seen that horticulture was in the hands of women, a fact which emphasizes

[131] Wallace, 1947, pp. 1-35.

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Delaware Kinship Terminology
Consanguineal

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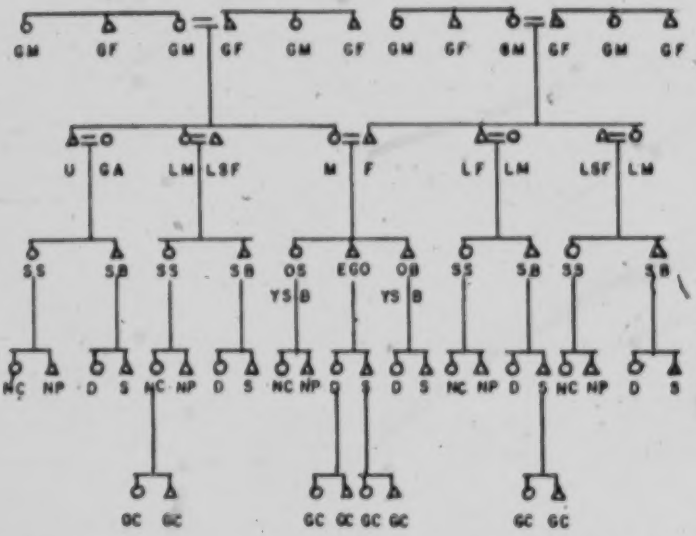
GM GF GM GF GM GF GM GF GM GF GM GF
U GA LM LSF M F LF LM LSF LM
SS SB SS SB OS EGO OB SS SB SS SB
YSB YSB
NC NP D S NC NP D S NC NP D S D S NC NP D S NC NP D S
GC GC GC GC GC GC GC GC

Fig. 1. Delaware terminological structure, consanguineal terms, male speaking (1859). The abbreviations are GF, grandfather; GM, grandmother; U, uncle; GA, great aunt, LM, little mother, LSF, little stepfather; M, mother; F, father; LF, little father; SS, stepsister; SB, stepbrother; OS, older sister; OB, older brother; YSB, younger sibling; NC, niece; NP, nephew; D, daughter; S, son, GC, grandchild. △ = male; ○ = female. With Ego female, the only difference in terms is found for nephew and niece. They are called son and daughter, so that all kin of the first descending generation are son and daughter.

the maternal line.[123] There were other cultural traits which point to a maternal emphasis: avuncular succession of sachemship is one, as are the facts that orphaned children were cared for by maternal grandparents, that a widower had to reimburse the wife's family before remarriage, and possibly that childhood names were given by mothers rather than by fathers. The occasional polygyny of the early period did not favor either matrilocality or matrilineal descent, although if it was of a sororal type it was then compatible with matrilocality.

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As has been noted, by the nineteenth century residence of a newly married couple was neolocal or bilocal, although probably it was matrilocal in early historic times. If a pre-European matrilocal society is assumed, what would cause an alteration to a neo- or bilocal rule? Murdock has said: "Rules of residence reflect general economic, social and cultural conditions. When underlying conditions change, rules of

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[123] Murdock, 1949, pp. 204-5.

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Delaware Kinship Terminology
Affinal

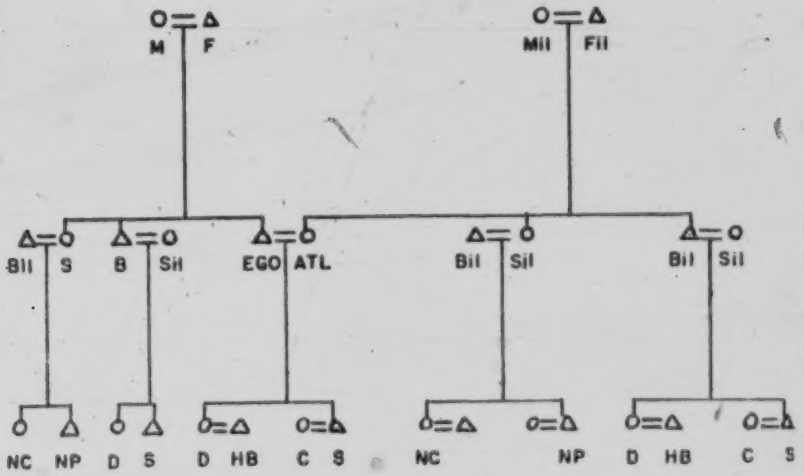

Fig. 2. Delaware terminological structure, affinal terms (1859). The abbreviations are Mil, mother-in-law; Fil, father-in-law; Bil, brother-in-law; Sil, sister-in-law; ATL, aid through life (spouse); HB, hunter for my benefit (son-in-law); C, cook (daughter-in-law). With Ego female, terms are the same. Other abbreviations as in Figure 1.

residence tend to be modified accordingly."[123] As he has pointed out further, the isolation and emphasis placed upon nuclear families, the decrease in polygyny, the scattering of kinsmen, and the individualistic emphasis placed upon economic activity, all favor the development of neolocal residence.[124] Bilocal residence is favored by "the adoption of a migratory life in unstable bands," and by the "approximate equality in status of the two sexes, especially with regard to the ownership and inheritance of property and privileges."[125] Almost all of the conditions which Murdock mentioned were prominent factors in Delaware life between 1600 and 1859. These forces are discussed at length under Acculturation; suffice it to say here that contact with Euro-American civilization caused extensive migrations, a new economic system emphasizing individual initiative, a decline in polygyny, breakup and decimation of geographically associated kinsmen, a decline in the importance of female-dominated horticulture, and increasing importance of men in subsistence. In short, residence rules of the Delawares in all probability altered from matrilocal to neolocal or bilocal.

The kinship terminology which Morgan described was in most of its

[123] Murdock, 1949, p. 17.
[124] *Ibid.*, p. 204.
[125] *Ibid.*

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Modern Delaware Kinship Terminology

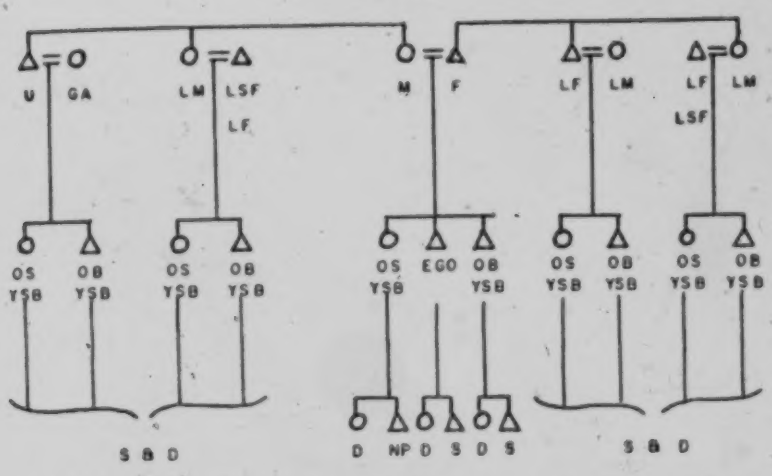

Fig. 3. Abbreviations are the same as for Figures 1 and 2. All cousins are called older brother or sister, or younger sibling. Sister's son is nephew, Ego male. Ego female, all kin of first descending generation are son or daughter. Mother's sister's husband and father's sister's husband may be called either little father, or little stepfather. A complete diagram is not given since there has been no change in other terms. Informants: O.A., M.B., J.T., F.W.

features in accord with the type which Murdock terms "Matri-Hawaiian."[126] It is apparent, however, that the early historic terminology was not Hawaiian, since descent must have been matrilineal instead of bilateral, as is required by a Hawaiian system. If an early historic system is now considered, with matrilineal descent and a matrilocal rule of residence, which by Morgan's time had evolved to a bilateral, Matri-Hawaiian type, is it possible to suggest the form of the early historic terminology? The most likely form would seem to be one of the 'Iroquois' type, since the generation principle is not violated in either, and the other differences are relatively minor.[127] In an Iroquoian system cross-cousins are called by the same terms, which differ from those used for parallel cousins. Parallel cousins may or may not be called by the same terms which are used for siblings. The term applied to mother and mother's sister is different from the one applied to father's sister. If it is assumed that the Delawares had this system, with matrilocal residence and matrilineal descent, how would this alteration to the Hawaiian type take place? It may be postulated, for example, that Ego's

[126] Murdock, 1949, p. 229.
[127] White, 1939, pp. 568-70.

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mother's brother upon marriage violates the traditional rule of matrilocal residence and brings his wife back to the group in which Ego is growing up. If this becomes a common occurrence, it is readily seen that a mother's brother's children might soon be confused, or aligned in Ego's mind with his parallel cousins, leading eventually to an alteration in cousin terminology. Or, if the rule of residence becomes neolocal, the same sort of alteration might take place. In this instance the reason for distinguishing between various kinds of cousins disappears, as with our own system. Neither paternal or maternal cross- or parallel cousins would in this case consistently be more familiar with Ego because of residence; they would be equals, receiving an equal emphasis in the kinship terminology. A logical accompaniment to this sort of alteration would be a change in Ego's terms for the first ascending generation. It is plain that a father's sister, who under an Iroquoian system had a special term, would now be the mother of children whom in a Hawaiian system Ego calls siblings, and hence she is called mother. It should be noted that the terminology employed in Morgan's time retained at least one feature of a previously unilateral system. This was the term for mother's brother, who was called uncle, instead of little father, as the logic of a bilateral system would lead one to expect. It may also be noted that the offspring of this uncle were placed in the sibling category by Ego. It may well be that the special, asymmetrical term for a mother's brother is a vestige of the once important avuncular relationship. It is difficult to arrive at a reasonable hypothesis for the similarly nonbilateral terminology applied to nepotic relatives in Morgan's time. First, there may have been no change in the terms employed for the children of siblings, for this is still a common Iroquoian type of terminology. I have not been able, however, to state the most probable terminology for the offspring of cousins; that the terms were different from the ones used in Morgan's time seems likely.

Clan and Phratry

The early historic Delawares seem to have had a rather weakly developed clan system. These named units probably consisted of a woman, her descendants, and collateral kin unilaterally reckoned in the maternal line. It cannot be determined whether these units should more properly be termed lineages, that is, unilateral descent groups tracing descent to a known ancestress, or clans, which may be defined as named, unilateral, exogamous descent groups, tracing ancestry to a mythically, or at least genetically, remote ancestor. Morgan termed these groups subgentes, since they were not totemic.[128] Wallace termed them lineages, and Harrington has called them clans.[129] Because of the diverse nature of the peoples who were to become the Delaware tribe any single characterization may be inaccurate.

[128]Morgan, 1877, p. 171.
[129]Wallace, 1947, p. 6; Harrington, 1913, p. 210.

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627 If peace could not be restored through the payment of "blood money," the interested kin, in case of murder, resolved the case by the murder of the guilty party or one of his kin.[165] From the scanty evidence available it would appear that only in the case of unresolved murders which were upsetting internal peace would society step in to halt the conflict.

576 Little is known about etiquette and the customary ways in which peo-
431 ple behaved towards one another. Penn, however, said:

> In liberality they excel. Nothing is too good for their friend. Give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent: the most merry creatures that live: they feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much. Wealth circulateth like the blood. All parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property.[166]

Denton in the same vein said:

> They are extraordinary charitable one to another, one having nothing to spare, but he freely imparts it to his friends & whatsoever they get by gaming or any other way, they share one to another leaving themselves commonly the least share.[167]

571 This sort of behavior is, of course, to be expected in a society organized upon a kinship basis. Society was predicated, not on the competition between individuals, but upon mutual assistance and the unity of action of the kin group. Respect for, and solicitous care of, the aged has also been noted.[168]

War

726 Small-scale, probably infrequent raiding by a few warriors was the
●174 typical form of warfare in early historic times and undoubtedly in the pre-European period. This type of conflict was a personal, usually non-economic feuding. An apt designation for it might be primitive war, since it seems to be characteristic of many cultures at this and lower technological levels of development. A special term for it is necessary since it generally differs in its causation, purpose, and form from total, modern warfare. There is little evidence that chronic, full-scale, economically caused warfare existed aboriginally in what is now northeastern United States. Hunt shared this point of view in writing of the Iroquois, generally considered to have been the most warlike of peoples in this area! He said:

> In the beginning intertribal rivalries were not keen, and intertribal war was purely private and social interprise. But before long the European trade was to create new rivalries, and whet old ones to the point where the issue became one of survival.[169]

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[165] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[166] Penn, 1683, p. 343.
[167] Denton, 1845, p. 9. Also see Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 115-16.
[168] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 123; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 103.
[169] Hunt, 1939, p. 22.

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Kroeber, on the other hand, has characterized warfare for the northeast as a whole as being of the modern, total kind:

> It was warfare that was insane, unending, continuously attritional, from our point of view; yet it was so integrated into the whole fabric of Eastern culture, so dominantly emphasized within it, that escape from it was well-nigh impossible.... This warfare, with its attendant unsettlement, confusion, destruction, and famines, was probably the most potent reason why population remained low in the East.[168]

There is no evidence which would support Kroeber's allegations, at least with respect to the prehistoric and early historic Delawares. Whether population density was low or not is conjectural, but even on the assumption that it was low, there is a much more realistic hypothesis available to explain it than the one offered by Kroeber. (See the Summary for this discussion.)

In the face of lack of evidence substantiating chronic and total warfare among the early Delawares, it is necessary to utilize indirect evidence to demonstrate that this type of conflict was minimal. The archaeology of the area offers little of a positive nature. Village sites of the East River Aspect, so far as can be determined, were not fortified or palisaded. They were "situated on or near tidal streams and bays."[169] A few sources mention palisades, but the evidence is not conclusive.[170] In Chapter I it was noted that Delaware villages were small, scattered, and on poorly defensible ground. During part of the year even village units did not exist, since family groups were away hunting. These facts do not suggest a martial atmosphere. If population densities were low, it seems unlikely that competition for agricultural land or for choice fishing locations existed. Disputes over hunting territories might have occurred, but these would have been primarily a family matter rather than of general concern. For chronic, vicious, and total war to exist there has to be a fairly strong motivation. As has been demonstrated elsewhere, cultures do not indulge in full-scale war, in the modern sense of the word, simply as an outlet for "psychological urges" or as a game.[171] As has been shown in the first chapter, Delaware culture in precontact times was in a political sense almost wholly unorganized. There was no tribe and there were apparently no institutions which in the event of invasion or attack could organize the people into an effective unit. It is difficult to believe that a people perilously and unendingly at war (for no apparent reason) would have as rudimentary a political and military organization as had the Delawares. Even in this cursory examination of the problem, it is clear that the precontact Delawares could have had only a small-scale, primitive war complex. This condition rapidly changed with the invasion of Europeans; chronic warfare of the most bitter kind soon came to be the daily pill of the Delawares. (This subject is taken up more fully in Chapter V.)

[168] Kroeber, 1947, p. 148.
[169] C. S. Smith, 1950, p. 116.
[170] Brinton, 1885, p. 51; Skinner, 1947, p. 7.
[171] Newcomb, 1950, pp. 317-30.

10. The evidence available on this subject in printed form plus what can be found in deeds has been admirably summarized by Huttenber (p.89ff.).

11. A pre-contact "history" of the Delaware, which is supposed to have been painted originally on sticks was acquired by Rafinesque in 1820. This man was a natural scientist and antiquarian of questionable repute, but the symbols in the document which he brought to light and their translation were pronounced authentic by several modern Delaware to whom it was shown by Brinton. The document, "The Walam Olum", with a translation of the Delaware text into English is reproduced by Brinton (1885).

12. One instance of the operation of this custom took place during the Dutch-Indian wars. The Dutch put a price on the heads of the Raritans, a Delaware band, for supposed offenses against them, but the only immediate result was a revenge murder by a neighboring band for an old injury (O'Callaghan, Vol. I, 1846, p. 240).

The following discussion of capturing two Indians who had murdered a white man also indicates the existence of this custom: "...only the Difficulty was, that there were seven of these Indyans, Men of the same Stock, that if two should be seised, the other five would seek to bee Revenged; soe it was unsafe." (Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey, Vol. I, p. 73).

13. Frank Speck (1931, p. 17): "The Big House capitulates the elements of certain minor feast ceremonies held on special occasions by families. The great annual ceremony seems to stand as an entity, one that does not submit to any assumption of recent origin in its present form of organization." This he feels is verified by its part-for-part resemblance to the Munsee ceremony in Canada, which would indicate that it must have been a national ceremony before 1700 when the groups began to separate.

In my opinion, however, there is not sufficient evidence that the "Annual Ceremony" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries existed in all its complexity in the seventeenth century although most of its parts were probably contained in various different ceremonies which were performed. One important difference between the ceremonies mentioned by Penn and Lindstrom and the "Annual Ceremony" is that in the former the sacrificial meat consisted of the first of the season's kill and in the latter it consisted of game taken on a special communal hunt.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

large. It is, then, to one of the religious men of the tribe, *Wi·tapano'xwe*, "Walks by Daylight" (C. J. Webber), the joint author of the text study of the Big House, supplemented with the cooperation of *Ni·'ka'ni·paxoxwe*, "Walking in Advance, Leader" (Joe Washington), and *Kwutc'pagi·'kamen*, "Rustling Leaves (when walking)" (George T. Anderson), that we owe the narration of this series of texts explaining the procedures themselves and the traditions of their origin (Plate 1).

Some of them, for instance the Grease Drinking Ceremonies and the Doll Dance, are family properties handed down as obligations within the family group from some past period when the responsibility for their enactment was incurred through the event of some long-forgotten individual undergoing experience with a spirit in human or animal form. These have developed among the Delawares into septs inheriting the obligation to perform them corresponding to the motives actuating rites of similar derivation in several other parts of North America.

In the history of Delaware institutions of the kind there is reason to suppose that the minor ceremonies, perhaps those passed on through generations within the family groups, may indeed be older than the Big House Ceremony. The fact that in the Big House certain rites appear to have been added and others to have been dropped off as time went on would show that the great celebration has integrated through the coalition of originally separate elements. Its comprehensiveness and its thoroughly worked-out cosmological philosophy seem to denote this. The formative elements themselves, then, may be those which we have here, the minor rites performed by smaller social groups, the families, perhaps the villages under the old social system when the tribe resided undisturbed by an European invasion in the east, and those conceived by certain individuals as an outcome of their personal revelations. These bear indication of being prior developments entering into the composition of the dominating and communal Big House Ceremony. Keeping pace with the dwindling devotion of the Delawares to the rites of the Big House, the individual and

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

small group celebrations have suffered decline, some having entirely ceased in recent years. In the minor ceremonies we have accordingly good prospective material to work over for the analysis of the larger composite ceremony. By taking into consideration with the Delaware institutions the process of ceremony integration in other parts of North America, of which the Sun Dance of the Plains Indians is a striking example, we are coming to possess the source material needed by the student pursuing research in the fascinating field of the history of religions. These repositories of native thought and experience are great in another sense. They offer a suggestive line of thought concerning the building-up process which has produced some of the great mass celebrations that mark the religious calendar of the preliterate tribes in whose culture have developed sophistries framed in proportions not unlike those of civilized nations.

I should like to add that the textual study offered in these pages is a contributive not a conclusive one as concerns the ethnology of the Delawares. Observations of ceremonial procedure still remain to be made on the rites that survive in the tribe.[1] But nothing can supercede the worth of the word for word deposition of even a modest informant like Wi'tapano'xwe, who has taken active part in many of them and whose nature has been steeped in reverence for them since childhood.

Some explanation should, it seems, be offered for omitting to mention and discuss ceremonial feasts and small rites that operate directly for the curing of sickness. The student of religious institutions would naturally expect these to be embraced in a study of this character since they are no less important and interesting as depicting the religious habits of the tribe. This aspect of the field has, however, been studied, and the material brought together for treatment in an independent monograph by Miss G. I. Tantaquidgeon, the manuscript being in the archives of the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.

[1] Not forgetting that excellent studies made in the field of Delaware Ethnology by M. R. Harrington have been published in his "Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape," Indian Notes and Monographs, Museum American Indian (Heye Foundation), New York, 1921, and more is promised by the same author.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

THE SPRING PRAYER AND FOOTBALL CEREMONY TO ADVANCE VEGETATION

An important rite took place in the spring at a time coinciding with the first appearance and growth of vegetation. The rite has lost most of its former strictness, and its performance in recent times is apparently of shorter duration. Without going into speculation upon its original character, we have certain particulars to place on record, of which the following text and description of a football ceremony as part of the celebration are of considerable interest. In describing the festival the text of the annual spring prayer will be given then a sketch of the football ceremony. The prayer is the formal prelude to the occasion and seems to embody the dominant spirit of thanksgiving and supplication in behalf of a vigorous growth of vegetation upon which the Delawares placed such stress in their economic existence. The prayer contains some finely worded passages and shows perhaps more than other declamations the power of expression of which the native mind is capable when stimulated to religious emotion by the contemplation of the blessings brought to man by the heat of the sun, moisture and the glorious realm of plant life.

There is reason to trace much of the ceremonial make-up of this festival to the Shawnee with whom the Delawares were, and still are, so closely associated. Until we have the results of the painstaking study of Shawnee ethnology in course of preparation by Dr. and Mrs. Voegelin it is wiser not to draw conclusions on this point.

The concept that trees are capable of breathing utterances has not died out in human letters among modern European poets [1] whose muse is of a much later birth than that of the

[1] For instance, among the latest; Stephen Vincent Benét ("John Brown's Body," N. Y., 1928),

> "I heard the song of breath . . .
> Solemn harps of the fir.
> And the vast, tiny grass
> Blown by a breath and speaking."

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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tives, and the founders of these rites, whoever they were, seem to have made suitable provision against public indifference. In the words of the informant, no one is apt to disregard the call to obey religious custom in view of the consequences. And there may have been some idea of making an offering to mother Corn as well in this rite. Its origin dates from the first conception of the corn ceremony as the text relates.[1] The individuals whose duty it is to enact this part are hence called "excrement daubers," and their identity is, as might naturally be expected, kept in the dark. The rite itself is called *we'mui·ha'lɔwe's* "excrement daubing."

Of the masks used in this rite we have mention of several specimens obtained from *Ni·ka'ni·paxoxwe*, "Leading walker" (Joe Washington) of the same band in Oklahoma (Fig. 1, *A* and *B*).[2] They represent the features of masks requisitioned in the rites of the Corn Harvest Ceremony as celebrated by the Wolf division. According to the memory of Joe Washington, from whom they were obtained, the mask (*A*) with black on the forehead and chin part and the middle face-portion of red, was employed by the mask messenger and dancer of the Wolf division in his *midday* appearances. The dark upper and lower bands of color represent darkness before dawn and after sunset; the lighter center, the middle of the day. The other (*B*) with the upper face area black and the lower red was worn in the rites of the *early morning and evening*.

The corn ceremony itself seems to be known only through general description on the part of our informant who had the account of it from his mother. She had seen the rite when she was young. As will be seen its characteristics are those of the usual Delaware feasting festivals. There are the addresses by the speaker chosen for the occasion, the women having prepared beforehand the amount of hominy

[1] One of the Delaware authorities, J. A. Parks, states in recent correspondence that he thinks the "excrement dauber" rite belonged originally to the Shawnee. Joe Washington, who had witnessed the rite when a young man, attributes the custom to the Seneca "introduced a long time ago to the Delawares."

[2] Specimen *A* (model, 4½ x 5½ inches) is of oak with cap portion, over top and back, of trimmed deer skin, with shredded corn stalk "hair," *B* is similar in construction, 6 x 8 inches. Unlike Iroquois masks there are no little bags of tobacco offering attached to Delaware images.

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SOCIAL OR "STOMP" DANCES

No treatment of Delaware ceremonies and dances could 535
be considered complete without mention of the Social or 174
Round Dances, even allowing for the inevitable ignorance which will always exist in matters so intimate in the life of preliterate peoples. The performances are inseparable from many of the more serious rites as an aftermath to the devotional period for which the assemblies are specifically called. The Round Dances seem to be general properties of the eastern and southeastern tribes. One gets the impression from observing their performance that there has been extensive informal diffusion of this type of dance from some older center of ceremonial development in which they were once symbol rites of a more serious nature. I would hazard a guess that they may have arisen from the ceremonial institutions of some groups in the southeastern culture area and been carried far and wide to those sections of the country where we now find them. In recent times the Delawares indulged extensively in these dances, and when questioned as to their possible earlier history, they profess to know no more than that they are early acquired property of the Nation supposedly from the Creeks and Shawnee. Analysis of the song types by Dr. Herzog may afford a clue. My 535
study has not included more detailed treatment of social dances than plain description. At present they cannot be considered as possessing ulterior religious motives. Whatever they are, more specific attention as a group is called for. They are circular in movement, contra-clockwise, in single and double lines conducted by a leader. The particulars are given under the title headings. The names that the separate dances of this category possess are possibly indicative of southeastern sources, for instance there is the Stirrup Dance in which at a given period the woman side-partner of the man places one foot upon his instep as he dances next to her, both hopping along for an interval on one foot. Another is

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order (the grandchildren) are, the Potowatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, and Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, and besides these the Chippewa, Menomini, Comanche, Nez Percé, Apache, Winnebago, Osage, Kaw, Ponca, Quapaw. All these here are differently named. Now here all these call the Delawares Wapanachki, or "Our Grandfather." But all our "brothers" call us by the name Lenape.

Now, I shall explain about the brothers of the Delawares, about whom I can not say much, but as many as I can name are the Nanticoke and Mahikan, and Munsee and several nations of the Iroquois are as many as I can think of as being our brothers. But nevertheless the Delawares are always considered the oldest. There must be older persons than I am who know all the different degrees of tribal relationship. Now then, a few more words, the Wyandot are our nephews, and also the Seneca and Cherokee. But the Mexicans are our uncles and the whites in general our brothers, and black people, some say "He who has a high color," our elder brothers, and it is he who is the strongest of all the different nations of people.

To the above list of tribal names several more may be added; ma'ckos, the Muskogi or Creek, a derivation of the term for swamp, and Taǫ'gale'wi', the Yuchi, meaning a people inferentially lost or wandering. The latter revives an old designation, Tahogale, Hogloge and variants (see discussion in J. R. Swanton, Early History of the Creek Indians, Bulletin 73, Bureau American Ethnology, 1922, pp. 286–312) for this mysterious and important people with whom the Delawares appear to have had contact.

MORTUARY CEREMONIES AND PROCEDURES

The customs concerned with death and interment of the Delawares are traced to a fusion of the rites of the tribe proper with those of the Munsee. We even have evidence that for a portion of the Delaware group certain mortuary rites of the Nanticoke [42] were assimilated during one period of time, as Harrington's account reveals.[43] Without attempting to un-

[42] Harrington, *op. cit.*, 183–4.

[43] An account of the Nanticoke independent burial customs, which were maintained by members of this tribe living among the Delawares as late as 1870, will be given shortly (p. 142).

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764 tangle some slightly confused details which are encountered
774 in the various descriptions given by early as well as late authors on Delaware ethnology, the citations from some of them will be presented and those of the informant separately. It is manifest that mortuary rites of the tribe have changed from time to time while the Delawares have been passing through the vicissitudes of their protracted migration from the Atlantic to the Plains.

764 In the text dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe we learn sufficient detail to make a complete summary of burial customs unnecessary as a separate paragraph. Nevertheless several excerpts from explanatory notes made by him to clear up his narration may be introduced. They discuss the treatment of the body of the deceased, duties of the relatives, the arrangements for interment, the sitting-up with the corpse and the playing of the ceremonial moccasin gambling game, the feast at the gathering for interment and its repetition at the end of the first year period after death.

764 With the interest in ceremonial matters that is natural
775 to his mental make-up Wi·tapano'xwe gives us his version of the doctrines and rites appropriate to the ushering of the soul of the defunct Delaware to the "Land of Spirits Above," *manito''kamik hukwe'yuŋ*, from the "Land of Spirits on Earth," *manito''kamik*. His particulars are in accordance with the theory of the journey of the soul explained and illustrated by a sketch of the path of the soul in its progress to the abode of *ke·tan'to'wi·t*, "Great Spirit," as given in the study of the Big House Ceremony. (Op. cit. Fig. 26.)

764 His major contribution to our knowledge of current funereal customs lies in the outline of the sermon and procedure of the Feast for the Dead. The proper name for the feast on the eleventh day after death is *da'kwi·p'hɔ't·i·n* "together eating." The feast that is celebrated one year after the death of the individual, at which only a few of the relatives are present, is called *wi·ho·''mwi·n*, "feast of offering to someone." It has already been noted that the latter feast has entered the Delaware system of rites by assimilation from the institutions of the Munsee according to the opinion of our sources.

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The matter presented in the study of Delaware ceremonies and dances just completed is intended to satisfy, so far as it may, the desires of several classes of investigators, both lay and professional, in the field of the human sciences.

To the ethnologist Delaware ceremonialism has properties which should throw light upon the whole structure of native religion in the east. The principles functionally underlying the rituals and festivals are not strange to the native groups from the southeast to the northeast this side of the Mississippi. The graded hierarchy from the peak of heaven where sits the supreme being and creator, through the lesser ranks of nature-forces of the sky brought into existence by him, down to the creatures of earth, human and animal and plant, is a familiar theme in the teachings of Indian philosophy in eastern North America. The intrusion of a pattern bearing the mark of Delaware thought is apparent in most of its details here, which will undoubtedly strike the attention of the specialist in cultural history. And there are evidences of trait diffusion—the migration of ideas in simpler parlance—among the native groups of the area which will prolong the discussions provoked by divergent theories of culture origins in the east. To the ethnologist of the historical persuasion I could predict that something significant may be expected to show forth from studies analogous to these now in process of completion among the allied Canadian Delaware and Munsee. I might even risk an estimate of my own—a crass violation of ideals of caution in such ventures—in respect to the possible mutuality of beliefs and rites of worship among both Delaware-Munsee and Iroquois. It is my impression namely, that a Delaware could participate in the program of many of the ceremonial observances of a Cayuga Iroquois Long House group with a certain assurance of understanding the theology involved and of being able to take part comfortably in them despite his ignorance of the language. Historical factors to produce such conditions cannot well be erased from the local picture. And yet Algonkian religious history has no definable landmarks.

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Introduction and Explanation of the Ceremony

It has long been known that the Delaware Indians had a periodic ceremony of paramount importance in fulfilling their obligations toward a pantheon of spiritual forces. We learn something of such a ceremony from indications occurring in the 17th and 18th century sources, among which figure Denton (1670),[1] William Penn (1683),[2] Brainerd (1745),[3] Zeisberger (1779-80),[4] Loskiel (1794),[5] and Heckewelder (1771-86, 1818).[6] First from the casual writings of Dutch, Swedish and English authors we get glimpses of the ceremony while this famous and patriarchal nation was still residing in its haunts in eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey. With the westward movement of the tribe, first to the valley of the Susquehanna and later to the Ohio country, the missionaries who attempted the conversion of the Delawares have added their comments upon the great recurrent festival, treating it in terms of cool description or in phrases of fervent condemnation according as their attitudes toward it were determined by their profession.

In the accounts we have, the ceremony is referred to under various titles, some in English, some in Delaware; Cantiko, (Penn, 1683), Gamwing, (Zeisberger, 1779), χingwi·ka'on, The Big House, The Annual Ceremony. And it is not a little strange that even the oldest of them are recognized by corresponding terms still current in the language of the tribe at the present time, as clearly explainable today as though we were still holding conference with native priests and patriarchs who had talked with Penn and his contemporaries. That the great rite was of local interest in the religious life of the allied peoples

[1] Denton's Description of New York, formerly New Netherlands, N. Y. 1670.

[2] William Penn. A Letter from William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania in America to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders of that Province Residing in London, London 1683 in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, of New Jersey and Delaware, Edited by Albert Cook Myers, N. Y. 1912, p. 234.

[3] David Brainerd, Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd, by Jonathan Edwards, New Haven, 1822.

[4] David Zeisberger. History of the Northern American Indians. Edited by A. B. Hulbert and W. N. Schwarze, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, n.d.

[5] George Henry Loskiel, History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians of North America, London, 1794.

[6] John Heckewelder, History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States, Edited by W. C. Reichel. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Phila. 1876.

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796 comprising the Delaware Nation is evident from all sources. That it
174 ruled the spiritual destinies of the Munsee, the Nanticoke, the Mahikan,
171 we know through collateral evidence, and analogous rites are inferred to have existed among the Mohegan on the east, the Powhatan peoples of Virginia and the Algonkian of the Carolina coast. Testimony from modern sources also points to a related performance of equal prominence in the religious behavior of the Shawnee. It would be an oversight besides, not to make reference to certain indications in the recorded discussions of Iroquois and Central Algonkian religion, of periodic ceremonies whose fundamental concepts form more or less a unit with those of the nation we are considering. Such a widely spread doctrine with associated rites of a unitary character assure us of the existence in aboriginal times of a culture-center, as regards creed, among the peoples of the Allegheny forest area, not only among the widely scattered Algonkian-speaking peoples but among others whose early history has been linked by some vague channels with them,
796 for instance the Muskogi and the Yuchi. If it is not going too far, I
174 would venture to repeat the assertion, often made by students of human culture, that the religious concepts of preliterate people express the keynote of their cultural status, that the same are to be regarded as forming their most conservative culture properties, reflecting the entire system of their culture in ramifications leading off to other topics of ethnology, the food-quest, social organization, warfare, art-symbolism, as well as rulings of simple custom and ethical character; indeed where not? This assumption, as we shall see, holds true with amazing consistency in the native civilization of the Delawares. While the previously recorded accounts of Delaware ceremonies, some of them explicit in detail and accuracy, have supplied occasional material for comparative and analytical studies in the ethnology of the eastern Indians, a feeling of dissatisfaction exists in regard to their content. This has been sufficient to cause hesitation on the part of ethnologists in using the records for the purpose of drawing culture conclusions since the accounts have all been fragmentary and recorded in the words of European observers instead of being based upon the expressions of the natives.[1] To have such records made in the words, and with the order and detail of thought of the people themselves is the highest ideal of the student of human institutions, an ideal now set up as the goal of endeavor in research. Accordingly when fate was moved
124 to provide me with a native Delaware informant in the person of
115 Wi·tapano'xwe, a Delaware whose early training, at the knees of his mother, was of the native, non-Christian type, I need hardly say that I laid aside every postponable obligation to devote attention to the

[1] More recently we have been bequeathed the excellent studies of eastern Indian ceremonies in native text by students who have recorded them from the dictation of the Indians, such as Hewitt, Jones, Michelson and Bloomfield.

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task of taking down from his lips his version of the entire doctrine and the ceremony of his tribe at which he had upon so many occasions been present. The results of our combined effort during four months of writing are accordingly laid forth. The entire body of information, the arrangement of thought and wording are his; the concepts extracted from the teachings of his early life, the ritual procedures reproduced from memory of participation in them, and the monologues, are from his memory of repeated hearings by their narrators. The mechanical task, the notations, are mine.

Few undertakings in my experience have proved so pleasant. Wi·tapano'xwe, or War Eagle, (frontispiece) as he is known in his profession of herbalist, displayed the patience, the courtesy, and character of a gentleman. Representing the type once referred to by Doctor Dorsey as a natural gentleman and sport, the Indian was still unspoiled by a mercenary and material civilization; the simple-mannered, sympathetic, beautifully poised, contented, nature-loving, thoughtful and mystic Algonkian. He deserves more extensive personal notice since he typifies Emerson's definition of a great man as one "who in the crowd keeps the independence of solitude."

Wi·tapano'xwe, "Walking with Daylight," of the Fowl, or so-called Turkey group (pele")[1] of the Delawares, was born in the Cooweescoowee district of the Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory, about 1880, according to his information, and as such he is listed in the records of the Dawes Commission.[2] His father was a member of the Cherokee Nation of the West. Being of Munsee descent on his mother's side he was elected to the Council of the Fowl or Turkey division of this tribe in 1902, and re-elected secretary of the Delaware executive council by the combined Delaware and Munsee tribes in 1921.

The history of the Delawares shows that they have passed through a series of momentous culture transitions before and since the coming of the whites. We assume that before being disturbed by the northward advance of the Iroquois they, together with the closely related Munsee, presented a type of culture differing from the after-period, during which assimilation with the Iroquois had progressed. Subsequently came the Dutch and Quaker contacts, ushering in a period which ended at the time of the withdrawal of the tribe from the east. Then came the period of migration westward, opening closer association with the trans-Alleghenean peoples (Wyandot, Mingo, Shawnee, Piankashaw, Miami). Their next move brought them into the central plains area producing acculturation in externalities with phases of Prairie culture as they met such exponents of

[1] One of the three major social subdivisions of the tribe, for definition of which see page 75.

[2] His enrollment name is James C. Webber, under Dawes' Commission Cherokee Roll No. 31516.

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174 this culture area as the Osage, Kansa, Ioway and Quapaw. Then with their final repose under the wing of the Cherokee Nation they felt
[668] the touch of the northward-moving Peyote cult; this time an influence affecting the religious fibre of the tribe to a greater degree than had any of the preceding associations with other religious forms, not even excepting Christianity. The span of transition is apparently complete. Its angles are numerous enough to confuse the most systematic ethnologist, even if he had the properties of the various culture-periods blocked out for him. Things, however, are not so fortunate. We have no clear or specific knowledge of the first-contact Delaware and Munsee civilization; only scraps of the post-Iroquoian and post-European periods and almost nothing covering the century of migration from Pennsylvania to Kansas and Indian Territory. Amid the obscurity of our knowledge of the famous tribe through these eras the curtain is now raised for us in the twentieth century. And the ethnologist with methodical equipment and the resources afforded him by the present knowledge of human sciences enters the scene to grapple with the long neglected task. Happily for him, some of the Delawares, faithful to their traditions, are still practising their culture. They have retained their tribal organization, their language, their religious creed and rites, their philosophy of life, their psychological content and some vestiges of their industrial and economic past, handed down either through tradition or usage in remote districts among conservative families. Much of their past culture has indeed been fostered through sentiment and love.
121 This is the background out of which we are to construct our picture, to unravel the twisted elements woven into the Delaware culture fabric. From one point of view we are obliged to take the Delawares as they are now, to handle with delicacy the venture in research to discriminate between leather and cloth, sinew and thread, porcupine quills and glass beads and ribbon, stone and iron, in illustrating their processes of ornament and manufacture. Fortunately, equal difficulty does not confront us in dealing with the beliefs and practices of religion, since this is the realm in which man is most conservative; the truth of which statement challenges and astounds us in modern European as well as in modern Indian religions.

A few words of explanation seem to be called for in regard to my plan of arrangement in presenting the material in hand. A general discussion of some fundamental concepts and practices, I feel, is required, preceding the body of the text dictated by Wi'tapano'xwe, though footnote references accompanying the texts will find their connection with the theme. Other notes of an explanatory nature are needed to guide the sense of description through phrases and terms obscure to one not familiar with Delaware culture and the language, and to explain where English idioms have been called into use to

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The mask rite, says Wi'tapano'xwe, is an individual or family, not a group rite. The record of the change of hands through which it passed, going into each of the three groups at different times, brings out this act.

Since it happened that the custody of the mask fell to Delaware women as well as to men, there seems to have been no restriction as to sex in the office of keeping the masks as reported for the Iroquois. The same is true of the corn-husk masks. As among the Iroquois the Delaware wooden mask was kept face down when not in use, but only, the informant added, because the cloth covering at the back would make this position more convenient. We are impressed with the ruling that the mask could not be played with nor worn for social masquerading.

To the ethnologist, however, the significance of the Mask-Spirit is deep. The whole question of the trait which it represents in the customs of the Delawares is fraught with the possibilities of an archaic northern background, into which fits a series of beliefs and practices extending across boreal North America through northeastern Asia. The game owner concept, in short, stands forth in high relief among the far northern Algonkian. Its most intense development appears among the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula.[1] For the region of the Great Lakes among the Central Algonkian we have as yet no records to substantiate the existence of the Game Owner concept so far south. The Delaware case is accordingly one of noteworthy bearing. Before passing by what Delaware belief has to contribute to the Game Owner concept in general the information pertaining to the mask spirits to be given in a text reserved for the later publication should be considered.[2] Here an account is recorded in which masks made of corn-husks are worn by messengers who go about announcing the occasion of a corn ceremony. The personification of the spirit of corn seems intended in the wearing of such a mask.

THE TORTOISE AS A SYMBOL.—Outlined in particularly high relief is the tortoise. In the latter creature we have the symbol of life, of perseverence, longevity and steadfastness. As the Delaware patriarch says, "The tortoise is the earth; is life." In the procession of time and among the elemental nature forces the direction of movement is from east to west, according to Delaware belief. So moves the tortoise with measured pace across the earth and through the Big House, carrying out the mythical allegory. At the end of his journey at the "western door," meaning where the sun sets at the edge of the

[1] Extended treatment of the religious beliefs and philosophy of the northern peoples, so far as the Game Owner concept is concerned, will be available for the students of religious customs of pre-literate peoples when manuscript now in course of preparation shall have been published.

[2] To form another volume of this series.

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[P.9, A]

A Tentative Catalogue of Minsi Material Culture

by VERNON LESLIE

121 READERS of the "Archaeologist" will recall that one of the major problems of the archaeology of northeastern Pennsylvania has been the identification of the culture of the Minsi Indians with one of the several archaeological manifestations which occur in this area.

101 The Minsi, it will be remembered, were the northern clan of the Delaware inhabiting the upper Delaware Valley above the Water Gap as well as adjacent areas in New York. Although mention of them is 174 to be found in written history, the Minsi make such a brief appearance there that at present very little can be learned from early writings concerning their material culture or ethnic peculiarities.

172 In my treatment of certain problems of the archaeology of the upper Delaware Valley published serially in the four issues of the "Pennsylvania Archaeologist" ending with that of Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1947, because of the paucity of evidence then available, I made no attempt definitely to describe Minsi culture by implement type or otherwise. Two possibilities were mentioned ("Archaeologist", Vol. XVI, No. 2, p. 73; idem, Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 108): that the Minsi culture could possibly be the mysterious "Coastal" culture which I had identified in the upper Delaware Valley (which will be referred to again briefly in the conclusion of the present paper) or that it could possibly be identified with an Owasco-like manisfestation occurring on several sites in the area, particularly in

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A Tentative Catalogue of Minsi Material Culture

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by VERNON LESLIE

the vicinity of Milford, Pike Co., Pa. Dr. William A. Ritchie in his "Pre-Iroquoian Occupations of New York", pp. 56-57, had previously indicated the possibility of Owasco-Lenape connections.

In my report I also mentioned the occurrence of sherds on upper Delaware sites and in rock shelters (see Schrabisch, "Archaeology of the Delaware River Valley between Hancock and Dingman's Ferry in Wayne and Pike Counties", 1930) which were typologically Iroquois. Early in the spring of 1947 while looking over a site in Pike County, Pennsylvania, opposite the upper end of Minisink Island, I was struck by the possibility that the true explanation of the Minsi cultural enigma could lie in a combination of the Owasco and Iroquois elements present on several surface sites as well as in Schrabisch's rock shelters and in the Heye-Pepper excavation opposite Minisink Island in New Jersey (see "Exploration of a Munsee Cemetery near Montague, New Jersey", Heye, Pepper, 1915). This combination was viewed in my new theory as having resulted from acculturation brought about by the imposing of Iroquois elements upon an Owasco base. There is considerable historical evidence in support of such a possibility since the Algonkian Delaware are described as having been subjected by the Iroquois. One assumption is left hanging in the air here, however: that the pre-acculturation Algonkian Minsi were pure Owasco in culture.

[174]

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The possibilities of this 'acculturation theory' seemed so appealing that I sent a letter to Dr. Claude Schaeffer, then of the Pennsylvania State Museum in Harrisburg, who was handling the publication of my manuscript, asking him to append my new view of the Minsi problem as a concluding footnote. For some reason which was never explained to me, however, this was not done.

Meanwhile in Rochester, Dr. William A. Ritchie, and in Philadelphia, Dr. Edmund S. Carpenter, were laying plans for a 1947 summer expedition in the upper Delaware area under an Indiana Historical Society grant for the purpose of attacking the Minsi problem as a phase of the wider question of determining the validity of the Walum Olum. The results of this expedition, with which the writer was for a time associated, have been ably and fully set forth by Dr. Ritchie in "The Bell-Philhower Site, Sussex County, New Jersey", Volume III, Number 2, Prehistory Research Series, The Indiana Historical Society, 1949.

The most important part of Ritchie's report bearing upon the present problem is the material contained on pages 194, 195, and 196. Briefly, Ritchie, while including the caution that the "evidence leaves something to be desired", concludes that the original Minsi Culture began as the Castle Creek Focus of the Owasco Aspect and was later modified by Unami and later still by Iroquoian elements.

121

In the light of the developments outlined in the foregoing, it is now possible to approach a description of the elements of Minsi material culture. It is obviously of value and interest to the numerous amateur and occasional professional archaeologists who do field work in the Minsi area to have at least a tentative idea of which artifacts can be assigned to the Minsi hori-